

Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT JOHN DARNTON BY-LINER, NEW YORK TIME FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17 HEADED "CHALLENGE TO THE SHUTTLE -- KISSINGER'S TESTED STYLE OF NEGOTIATING FACES A VERY DIFFERENT RANGE OF PROBLEMS IN AFRICA."
2. DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA, SEPTEMBER 16. SO FAR, SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A.KISSINGER'S MISSION TO BRING PEACE TO SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS SHOWN ONLY THE DELICACY, COMPLEXITY AND IMMENSITY OF THE JOB INVOLVED.
3. NEWS ANALYSIS. FOLLOWING HIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT JULI K.NYERERE YESTERDAY, TWO DRAMATICALLY CONTRASTING NEWS CONFERENCES WERE HELD. IN ONE, PRESIDENT NYERERE, SITTING ON THE BACK PORCH OF HIS STATE HOUSE, PASSIONATELY EXPLAINED HIS MIXED FEELINGS TOWARD THE AMERICAN INITIATIVE AND SAID, IN EFFECT, THAT HE WAS LESS HOPEFUL THAN EVER.
4. IN THE OTHER, MR. KISSINGER, BRACED BEHIND A LECTURN AT UNCLASSIFIED

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THE KILIMANJARO HOTEL, SUGGESTED THAT PRESIDENT NYERERE'S REMARKS WERE THE KIND OF THING THAT ACCOMPANIES NEGOTIATION AND SOUGHT TO PORTRAY HIMSELF AS NOTHING MORE THAN A CONDUIT

FOR RELAYING VIEWS BETWEEN BLACK-RULED AND WHITE-RULED COUNTRIES.

5. BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT SO FAR THE KISSINGER TRIP HAS DRAWN A GOOD DEAL OF SUSPICION AND DOUBT FROM BLACK AFRICA SOME OBVIOUSLY FOR APPEARANCE SAKE BUT MUCH OF IT REAL.

6. THOSE WHO TRAVELED WITH MR. KISSINGER DURING HIS MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS NOTE THAT GLOOM IS A PERFECT CURTAIN-RAISER FOR HIS STYLE OF DIPLOMACY. WITH IT, EVEN A RELATIVELY MINOR ADVANCE-IN THIS CASE, AN AGREEMENT FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA EMBRACING ALL SIDES-TAKES ON THE APPEARANCE OF A MIRACLE AND CAN GENERATE MOMENTUM.

7. SOME CALL GLOOM JUSTIFIED. BUT THOSE WHO HAVE FOLLOWED EVENTS IN AFRICA FEEL THE GLOOM JUSTIFIED AND POINT OUT THE VAST DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN TERMS OF ISSUES, MULTIPLICITY OF FACTIONS AND PERSONALITIES.

8. MR. KISSINGER HAS SAID PRIVATELY THAT PRESIDENT NYERERE WHOM HE GREATLY RESPECTS, IS NOT "ANOTHER SADAT." THE IMPLICATION IS THAT, UNLIKE THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT, WHOM MR. KISSINGER HAS PRAISED FOR COURAGE IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE ISRAELIS DESPITE ARAB CRITICISM, THERE IS NO AFRICAN LEADER WILLING TO RUN THE RISK OF APPEARING MODERATE ON THE QUESTION OF "LIBERATION."

9. "THE BASIC UNDERLYING OBSTACLE," THE SECRETARY SAID, REFERRING TO BOTH WHITES AND BLACKS, IS "THE RELUCTANCE OF ANYBODY TO ADMIT THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE POSSIBLE BEFORE THEY KNOW THAT NEGOTIATIONS WILL SUCCEED."

10. HIS POINT, AS FAR AS BLACK AFRICA IS CONCERNED, IS NOT QUITE VALID. THE AFRICAN LEADERS COULD RETORT THAT LONG BEFORE MR. KISSINGER ENTERED THE SCENE, AT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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VICTORIA FALLS CONFERENCE LAST YEAR, THEY TRIED NEGOTIATING FOR MAJORITY RULE WITH THE RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER, IAN D. SMITH, USING PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AS AN INTERMEDIARY. THE FACT THAT THE VENTURE FAILED-BECAUSE MR. VORSTER WAS RELUCTANT TO APPLY SUFFICIENT PRESSURE ON MR. SMITH, ACCORDING TO THE AFRICANS-HAS LEFT A SENSE OF PESSIMISM AND EVEN BETRAYAL.

11. THE REPUTATIONS OF MODERATES, SUCH AS PRESIDENT KENNETH D. KANDA OF ZAMBIA, SUFFERED IN THE GROWING NATIONALIST FERVOR OF ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN COMMUNITY GATHERINGS, AND THEY HAVE CHANGED FROM DOVES TO HAWKS.

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12. IN THE MIDDLE EAST, MR. KISSINGER WORKED FOR A PEACE SETTLEMENT AFTER THE FIGHTING HAD STOPPED. IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE FIGHTING IS CONTINUING AND, INDEED, GROWING.

13. THERE IS A CONSTITUENCY AMONG THE BLACKS THAT SAYS THE FIGHTING SHOULD GO ON. IT STEMS FROM THE CONVICTION THAT THE MILITARY ADVANTAGE HAS SWUNG TO THE BLACKS AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS UNDERTAKEN LATER, WHEN TERRITORY IS ACTUALLY WON, ARE BOUND TO BE MORE ADVANTAGEOUS. THAT CONVICTION IS RUNNING ESPECIALLY STRONG NOW THAT THE RAINY SEASON, WHICH WILL SHIFT THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE TO THE GUERRILLAS, IS ABOUT TO BEGIN IN RHODESIA. TO NEGOTIATE, SOME FEEL, WOULD BE SEEN AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS.

14. THERE IS ALSO AN ELEMENT OF PRIDE AND A SENTIMENT FOR WINNING THE WAR. OF ALL THE AFRICAN NATIONS THAT HAVE WON INDEPENDENCE, ONLY TWO, ALGERIA AND GUINEA-BISSAU, CAN HONESTLY SAY THEY HAVE DEFEATED COLONIAL FORCES ON THE BATTLEFIELD. THE SLOGAN OF THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S ARMY, THE MAIN FIGHTING FORCE OF THE RHODESIAN BLACKS, IS "WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS."

15. MR.KISSINGER HAS STRESSED THAT DURING HIS VISITS IN APRIL, EVERY AFRICAN HEAD OF STATE URGED HIM TO MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER. BUT IN THE INTERIM, THE RIOTS AND KILLINGS HAVE OCCURRED IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND THEY HAVE MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR AFRICAN PRESIDENTS TO EXPLAIN HOW
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THEY CAN COUNTENANCE CONVERSATIONS WITH A MAN THEIR OWN NEWSPAPERS DECRY AS A BUTCHER OF BLACK CHILDREN.

16. MR. KISSINGER IS NEW TO AFRICA, AND SOME WOULD SAY HE HAS YET TO ACQUIRE THE NECESSARY FEEL FOR THE POLITICS AND SPECIAL SENSIBILITIES. DAYS BEFORE HIS ARRIVAL HERE, HE CAUSED A FLAP BECAUSE PRESS REPORTS SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN "INVITED" INSTEAD OF "WELCOMED"-A DISTINCTION PROMPTLY CORRECTED BY THE IMAGE-CONSCIOUS TANZANIANS.

17. THREE CONFLICTS INVOLVED. THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS SAY THEY FEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ACTING OUT OF SELF-INTEREST, TO CONTAIN SOVIET INFLUENCE, RATHER THAN OUT OF A SINCERE COMMITMENT TO THE CONCEPT OF MAJORITY RULE. IF THIS IS THE CASE, THEY SAY, THEN AMERICA WILL DRIFT INTO AN ALLIANCE WITH SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH CLAIMS TO BE FIGHTING COMMUNISM, IF THE NEGOTIATIONS FAIL.

18. BUT THERE IS ALSO A STRONG MORAL TONE TO THEIR POSITION. THEY SAY THEY WANT SOMEONE ON THEIR SIDE BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT, AND NOT BECAUSE OF FEAR OF ANOTHER SUPER-POWER. THE LEVEL OF IDEALISM CLASHES SOMEWHAT WITH

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MR.KISSINGER'S BRAND OF REALPOLITIK.

19. IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE SECRETARY OF STATE COULD IDENTIFY THE CONFLICT AND THE PARTIES INVOLVED. IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THERE IS NOT ONE CONFLICT BUT THREE- OVER RHODESIA OVER SOUTH-WEST AFRICA AND POTENTIALLY OVER SOUTH AFRICA. IN THE CASE OF RHODESIA, THE NATIONALIST FACTIONS ARE SO SPLINTERED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW WHOM TO INVITE TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE.

20. WHILE THE NATIONALIST LEADERS ARE TOTALLY DEPENDENT UPON THE "FRONT LINE" AFRICAN PRESIDENTS TO WAGE THEIR STRUGGLE, THE PRESIDENTS LISTEN TO THEIR OPINIONS. AND EACH OF THE PRESIDENTS-EXCEPT JOSHUA NKOMO, THE MODERATE WHO ENGAGED IN TALKS WITH MR. SMITH SIX MONTHS AGO- IS SUSPICIOUS ABOUT MR. KISSINGER.

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21. MOST SUSPICIOUS OF ALL IS ROBERT MUGABE, THE RHODESIAN WHO IS EMERGING AS THE MOST POPULAR POLITICIAN AMONG THE GUERRILLAS. SIGNIFICANTLY, MR. MUGABE HAS VOICED RESERVATIONS ABOUT A KEY PROVISION OF THE KISSINGER PLAN, FINANCIAL GUARANTEES FOR WHITES IN RHODESIA UNDER A BLACK GOVERNMENT. "WHO WILL PAY BLACKS FOR ALL THEIR YEARS OF BEING EXPLOITED BY THE WHITES?" HE SAID IN AN INTERVIEW HERE LAST WEEK. ROBINSON

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